of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The lay elder places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessings may flow from it. 794 585

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. A chanter arises and intones a song of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and money are scattered among the audience, and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as 'stone money,' from the old custom, still practiced sometimes, of stoning the house of a couple on their wedding night until the bridegroom arises and pays them to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber, others may go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is a general feast. Usually the feast in Tadagale partakes of the nature of a tea party, since a full scale feast is expensive. Each guest receives a symbolic gift, usually a cigar or a fan.

Old Age. Old age is the period after one's children are grown, the 'third age' of life. Women are definitely regarded as old after the menopause. The Burmese terms for 'old lady' and 'old man' are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes 'old mother' is used instead of 'old lady.' Long life is considered a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized. 886 601 761

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren, and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be retiring and unobstrusive in their behavior. They should not go out visiting very much; they should eat less and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances. 888 ●

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person. It is unheard of that old people should work. A possible exception would be a village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. They often take leading roles in such activities. 887

The elderly members of a household arise early to see that the rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks, and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

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The key to 26 high positions lies in education in the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

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the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry".

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The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity.

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Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KAMMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations.

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The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping.

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The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are YET-NAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUWA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or of red or white beads about ½ inch in diametre are called SEIK-PA-DEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HAHN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets. 888● 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-whorl - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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●888 To the Burmese, long life is a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized.

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be 887 retiring and unobtrusive in their behavior. They do not go out visiting very much; they eat less food; and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances.

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person in Burmese society. It is unheard of that aged people should work: a possible ex- [622] ception is the village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. In fact, they take leading roles in such activities.

The elderly members of the household arise early to see that rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

[784] Certain of the taboos that apply to younger people, mostly those connected with death, do not apply to the aged.

Death and Funeral Observances. To the Burmese, the decline of the human 761 body is part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs the soul must [775] leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life: when a person dies, "the butterfly leaves his body."

763 When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelry, are removed from the person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

764 As soon as death has occurred, everyone present cries and wails. Before rigor mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for the purpose and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this [801] must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 · APl Burma
Burmese AP4

181. CHILDREN'S TUBE AT FLOOD-TIME p. 81

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagá*. *Payá-tagá* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagá* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sahwé*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thakin* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahib*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-e-lâ?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa daromè*. There is nothing answering to the established *salám* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Gôdaw-mya thâppâyá pyippa-e lâ*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

182. CARVING OF CHINLON PLAYER pp. 18, 179

183. THE PADYA SHRINE p. 188

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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431. DECORATING THE THEBONZEDI P 127

CHAPTER IX

AGE AND MORTALITY

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432. A DAUGHTER PRAYING HER PARENTS TO NOBO-SAT.

THE men and women of the tropics age and die sooner than those of temperate climates. One meets reputed centenarians in Burma, but it is rarely that the old people can prove their age, unless they are able to connect their year of birth with some historical event. Ninety years is a very great age for a native of Burma to attain. When parents are past their prime their children pray them to *nobo-sat*, which means that they should be at the children's charge for the remainder of their lives, as the children had first been at their parents'. The turning-point is not marked by any formality, but a child approaching parents on a solemn occasion adopts the gesture of veneration. The aged are not idle; they preserve a great elasticity of mind and interest in things;

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25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

433. PAINTING OF KYAITTIYO PILGRIMAGE.

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they study their religious books, occupy themselves with their grandchildren, teach them and tell them stories, and make toys for them. They do the light repairs of the house and gear, and when they are too old to go on pilgrimages with the others, they keep the house and tell their beads alone. The veteran can still halt to the shrine on duty-days. Every old man is by courtesy *hdyi*, and every old woman *amèdyi*. The old people wear plainer clothing than the young, and, according to old Burman fashion, less of it. The human dignity of the aged is of a kind that apparel cannot add to. Steeped in the spirit of Buddhism, the aged never yield to anger. Wanting neither for necessaries nor honour, the pathos of their serene old age is purely that of years. A peaceful end is their lot. (See *The Soul of a People*, p. 330.)

[532 788]

And now our Burman is equipped for the final stage. To the dead of whatever degree royal honours are accorded. The body is spoken of as *ahaung*, "that which is about to be," to be something of a higher nature, namely, as the dead are spoken of in German as "blessed." The corpse is laid under a white or royal canopy, upon a temporary bier, for one or several days. The body is swathed in grave-clothes, the thumbs and great toes tied together with strips of white cotton cloth, and in the mouth of a lay person is put a gold or silver piece for *kadôga*—ferry-hire. While the body is lying in state, the catafalque (*dalâ*) is being prepared for carrying the bier to the cemetery. The *dalâ* is a tall erection of bamboo and paper, ending in a royal *pyatthat*, gay with colours and tinsel. The corpse is laid in a coffin similarly decorated, which is placed in or over the sarcophagus-shaped part of the *dalâ*. Above the coffin

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434. HOME DEVOTIONS OF THE AGED

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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435. THE VETERAN.

floats a *pasô* or *taméin*, according to the sex of the deceased. Figures of winged *kein-nayd* support the coffin. All these preparations are costly, but they are never omitted (except in the case of "unripe" deaths), for if the family of the deceased have not the means, the neighbours contribute. While the *dalâ* is preparing, the relatives and neighbours are entertained in a pavilion erected in front of the house. Music, games, and *pwé* are provided by day and by night to help them to pass the time. The Burman word for funeral is *mathâ*, a sorrowing; and the mourning of the relatives is open and loud. Death is spoken of with bated breath and true solemnity. It is not baldly stated that a person is dead, but that their life has ended. The dead are borne in tender memory. Nevertheless, the incidents of the funeral are so inconsistent with mourning that they receive point in a fable. The python snake with its gigantic size and forbidding aspect looks the king of venomous reptiles. And such, according to the satire, the python used to be. So potent was his venom that if he bit so much as the track of a creature it must die. On one occasion the serpent bit the foot-print of a man who had angered him, and crept to the village to enjoy his revenge. But he found nothing there to betoken sorrow. Music was playing and the people were dancing. This mortified him so that he climbed a lofty tree and spat all his venom forth. The preparation of the catafalque and the entertainment of the funeral guests are costly, but the offerings to the *yahán* are the chief expense. These are what give distinction to the funeral. As many *yahán* of the place and the surrounding country as the family can afford to present offerings to, are invited to precede the *pongyi* to the cemetery. The offerings are all of identical nature and value. In the illus-

436. ENTERTAINING THE FUNERAL GUESTS.